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Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SP-02
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BIB-01 /090 W
----------181211Z 078146 /22
P R 180659Z JAN 77
FM AMEMBASSY SOFIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2251
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
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AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USNATO BRUSSELS 517

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 SOFIA 0108

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, US, BU, CSCE
SUBJECT: MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER: CSCE

REF: A) SOFIA 2705 (1976); B) STATE 305841; C) SOFIA 2606 (1976)

1. SUMMARY. AT JAN 14 MEETING, IN ADDITION TO GIVING STANDARD FORMULATIONS ABOUT ALL BASKETS BEING EQUALLY IMPORTANT, AVOIDANCE OF MUTUAL ACCUSATIONS IN BELGRADE, AND ADMISSION THAT BULGARIA COULD NOT POSSIBLY HAVE IMPLEMENTED ALL PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT, FOREIGN MINISTER MLADENOV ENTERED INTO DISCUSSIONS OF SOME CSCE POINTS WHICH MAY PROVIDE OPPORTUNITY FOR FOLLOW-UP IN GREATER DEPTH IF WE DESIRE. HE PROBED FOR US PLANS RE THE CHAPTER ON SECURITY IN THE MEDITERRANEAN, WHERE HE SEEMED TO FORESEE TROUBLE. DEFENSIVE ON CBM'S AND ECONOMIC DATA, HE CLAIMED CREDIT FOR GOOD PERFORMANCE ON DIVIDED
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FAMILIES (BUT AS REPORTED SEPTEL DID NOT YIELD ON THE MAREV CASE). HE CITED FINANCIAL PROBLEM FOR LACK OF IMPLEMENTATION OF HIS EARLIER FORECAST THAT FOREIGN NON-COMMUNIST NEWSPAPERS WOULD BE IMPORTED. SAID IF TERMS OF REFERENCE WERE ADJUSTED CSCE COMMISSION MIGHT YET BE ADMITTED. PROMISED EARLY RESPONSE ON LIFTING OF TRAVEL RESTRICTIONS AND WAS WILLING REVIEW GOB REFUSAL

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OF REDUCTION OF VISA FEES. ON RFE HE WAS MILITANT, UNCOMPROMISING BUT AGREED TO PROVIDE DOCUMENTATION SUPPORTING HIS ACCUSATIONS, WHICH HE SHOULD BE UNABLE TO DO. END SUMMARY.

2. MET WITH FOREIGN MINISTER MLADENOV JANUARY 14 FOR WHAT TURNED OUT TO BE MORE THAN TWO-HOUR MEETING FOCUSSED PRIMARILY ON CSCE MATTERS BUT ALSO DEALING WITH RANGE OF BILATERAL ISSUES. SOME TOPICS REPORTED SEPTELS. THIS MESSAGE DEALS WITH GENERAL CSCE MATTERS.

3. I BEGAN BY REMINDING MLADENOV OF USEFUL DISCUSSION WE HAD HAD ON CSCE IN DECEMBER 1975, PLACING OUR MEETING IN CONTEXT OF NORMAL, ONGOING EXCHANGES BETWEEN TWO GOVERNMENTS ON CSCE. MLADENOV, WHO HAD ONLY NOTE-TAKER PRESENT, SAID MATTERS OF DETAIL COULD BE PURSUED WITH MFA "CSCE GROUP" HEADED BY STAIKOV (REF A). READING FROM FINAL SECTION OF THE ACT OF HELSINKI WHICH DEFINES PURPOSES OF BELGRADE MEETING, I ASKED HOW BULGARIA PERCEIVED THE AGENDA OF BELGRADE '77.

4. BELGRADE AND BEYOND: MLADENOV FIRST GAVE THE STANDARD BULGARIAN POSITION THAT THERE CAN BE NO CHANGES IN PRINCIPLES OF HELSINKI, THAT FINAL ACT MUST BE SEEN AS A UNITY, AND THAT BULGARIA DOES NOT DIFFERENTIATE AMONG BASKETS IN LEVEL OF IMPORTANCE OF IMPLEMENTATION. BULGARIA WISHED BELGRADE CONFERENCE TO BE "CONSTRUCTIVE IN SPIRIT, NOT A TRIBUNE OF MUTUAL RECRIMINATION." HE WARNED THAT "BOTH SIDES COULD COLLECT ALL THE STONES IN THEIR GARDENS AND CONFIDENTIAL

TAKE THEM TO BELGRADE TO THROW AT EACHOTHER." IT IS TRUE, HE SAID, THAT BULGARIA HAS NOT IMPLEMENTED ALL ASPECTS OF FINAL ACT IN THE SHORT TIME SINCE AUGUST 1975, BUT THE DOCUMENT HAD ALWAYS BEEN INTENDED TO GUIDE "LIVING RELATIONS" OVER LONG PERIOD OF TIME. BULGARIA HOPED THERE WOULD BE PAUCITY OF "CHEAP PROPAGANDA SPEECHES" WHICH FURNISH "GOOD MATERIAL FOR JOURNALISTS" BUT "WITH NO SERIOUS, POSITIVE BASIS." ASKED ABOUT FURTHER MEETINGS CONTEMPLATED IN FINAL SECTION HE SAID HIS GOVT HAD NOT YET FORMULATED ITS VIEWS AND THEY WOULD PROBABLY DEPEND ON BELGRADE. "SOCIALIST COUNTRIES" REMAIN INTERESTED IN EUROPEAN SPECIALIZED MEETINGS ON ENERGY, ENVIRONMENT, ETC., WHICH HE SAID ARE "LESS INTERESTING TO US BECAUSE YOU ARE FARTHER AWAY."

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INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN
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5. I SAID WHILE WE TOO REGARD ALL PARTS OF THE FINAL ACT AS EQUALLY IMPORTANT, SOME PROVISIONS NATURALLY LEND THEMSELVES MORE TO TESTING OF IMPLEMENTATION THAN OTHERS. I ASKED HOW, FOR INSTANCE, OBSERVANCE OF PRINCIPLES OF BASKET I COULD BE TESTED. MLADENOV AGREED THAT FORTUNATELY THERE HAD BEEN NO NON-OBSERVANCE. (FOR DISCUSSION OF CBM'S SEE PARA 7 BELOW.) I THEN SAID, IN ACCORDANCE REFS B AND C, THAT PERIOD BETWEEN NOW AND BELGRADE MEETING WAS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT IN IMPROVING PERFORMANCE BY ALL SIGNATORIES SINCE IT WAS NATURAL THAT DEGREE OF PROGRESS (OR ABSENCE THEREOF) WOULD ATTRACT MOST ATTENTION AND COMMENT, INCLUDING THAT OF US CONGRESSIONAL AND PUBLIC OPINION.

6. MEDITERRANEAN. BEFORE ENTERING UPON DISCUSSION OF INDIVIDUAL CHAPTERS, MLADENOV ASKED IF USG HAS ANY VIEWS
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ON HOW TO HANDLE THE SECTION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN ("BASKET 2-1/2"), RECALLING THE TIME THAT HAD BEEN SPENT LISTENING TO INTERVENTIONS OF MALTA AT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE. I SAID I HAD NO INSTRUCTIONS FROM

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WASHINGTON AND ASSUMED WE HAVE NO GREAT DESIRE TO DISCUSS
THIS ASPECT. MLADENOV SAID THIS SECTION DID NOT INVOLVE
ONLY MALTA BUT ALSO "SEVERAL OTHER MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES
WHICH ARE INTERESTED" AND BULGARIAN POSITION HAD THEREFORE
NOT YET BEEN FINALIZED. HE SEEMED ESPECIALLY INTERESTED
IN LEARNING WHETHER WE HAD ANY IDEAS ON HOW TO HEAD OFF
LENGTHY DISCUSSIONS AND SAID HE COULD FORESEE NOTHING THAT
WOULD CHANGE THE POSITION BULGARIA HAD TAKEN AT GENEVA.

7. BASKET I: I MADE PRESENTATION REGARDING CBM'S AS
PER REF A. MLADENOV RESPONDED THAT BULGARIA WILL OBSERVE
PRECEPTS OF NOTIFICATION AND CAREFULLY AVOIDED SAYING
WHETHER OR NOT BULGARIA WOULD HAVE MANEUVERS ABOVE THRESHOLD
LIMIT DURING THE COMING YEAR. (HE REMARKED, AS HE HAD
THE LAST TIME, THAT THE BEST CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURE
WOULD BE THE ABSENCE OF SUCH MANEUVERS.) AS FOR BULGARIA
NOT HAVING ACCEPTED ONE WEST GERMAN INVITATION TO OBSERVE,
THIS HAD BEEN SOLELY BECAUSE INVITATION HAD BEEN EXTENDED
TO BULGARIAN EMBASSY BONN WHICH HAD NO MILITARY ATTACHE,
RATHER THAN TO GOB, A POINT HE SAID HE HAD MADE TO FORMER
GERMAN AMBASSADOR MENNE.

8. BASKET 2: I MADE POINTS AS PER REFS B AND C REGARD-
ING INCONSISTENCY WITH CSCE OF DISCRIMINATORY TRADE REGU-
LATIONS AND SPARSE, LATE, AND NON-COMPARABLE BULGARIAN
COMMERCIAL AND ECONOMIC INFORMATION, NOTING THAT BULGARIA'S
PERFORMANCE IN THIS FIELD WAS BELOW THE STANDARD OF MOST
OTHER EE COUNTRIES. MLADENOV SQUIRMED A BIT, BEGINNING
HIS RIPOSTE BY CLAIMING THAT ROMANIA'S RECORD WAS WORSE,
HE THEN DRAGGED OUT A FRENCH YEARBOOK PREPARED FROM UN
SOURCES THAT CONTAINED PER CAPITA GNP FIGURES NOT ADJUSTED
FOR INFLATION AND CURRENCY FLUCTUATIONS. IN THE END, HE
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AGREED TO HAVE DISCUSSIONS OF THIS QUESTION CONTINUED AT
THE WORKING LEVEL, ADDING THAT HE WOULD WELCOME "DETAILS
WITH WHICH TO PUNISH MY COLLEAGUES, TO MAKE THEM STAND
AGAINST THE WALL." HE ADDED JOCULARLY, "WE CANNOT BE
THE BEST IN EVERYTHING."

9. BASKET 3: I MADE PRESENTATION ON HUMANITARIAN ISSUES
AS PER INSTRUCTIONS, LEAVING MAREV CASE UNTIL LATER (SEE
SOFIA 0100). REMINDED MLADENOV OF HIS REPEATED ASSUR-
ANCES THAT NON-COMMUNIST WESTERN PUBLICATIONS WERE OR WOULD
SHORTLY BE ON SALE IN BULGARIA, A STILL MANIFESTLY UN-
FULFILLED PLEDGE. MLADENOV RESPONDED THAT IT WAS HIS
EXPERIENCE THAT SUCH PUBLICATIONS WERE ON SALE IN BUL-
GARIAN HOTELS BUT ADDED LAMELY THAT PERHAPS THE HOTELS
DISPLAYED THEM ONLY WHEN HE VISITED THEM. HE THEN
PROCEEDED TO CLAIM THAT CLAUSE REGARDING DISSEMINATION

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OF INFORMATION WAS RECOMMENDATION, NOT AN OBLIGATORY
MEASURE. IMPORTING WESTERN NEWSPAPERS IS ALSO A FINANCIAL
QUESTION FOR BULGARIA, WHEREAS WEST SEES THEM IN TERMS
OF THEIR "IDEOLOGICAL IMPACT." HE MENTIONED THAT BUL-
GARIA IS PLANNING A PRESS CENTER (REF A) THAT WOULD MAKE
CONTACTS EASIER FOR FOREIGN JOURNALISTS. HE SAID WESTERN
COUNTRIES ARE NOT IMPORTING MANY BULGARIAN PAPERS. BULGARIA
WAS OF COURSE NOT SEEKING FULL RECIPROCITY BUT HE BELIEVED
ITS RECORD WAS GOOD. HE OFFERED TO HAVE FURTHER DISCUS-
SIONS ON THE WORKING LEVEL.

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AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
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10. I SAID WHILE NOT MANY BULGARIAN PAPERS WERE BEING
IMPORTED INTO US, THE POINT IS THAT WE ARE PUTTING NO OB-
STACLES TO SUCH IMPORTATION. ALSO NOTED THAT WHILE MAKING
WESTERN NEWSPAPERS AVAILABLE TO WESTERN TOURISTS AND DURING
CONGRESSES, CONFERENCES ETC. CONFORMS TO ONE CLAUSE OF
SECTION 2 BASKET III, ANOTHER CLAUSE DEALS QUITE SPECI-
FICALLY WITH "INTENTION" OF SIGNATORIES TO FACILITATE
MORE GENERAL DISSEMINATION. AS FOR FINANCING IMPORTS,
IT MIGHT INTEREST MLADENOV THAT WE HAD JUST RECEIVED THE
REPORT OF THE STUDY MISSION TO EUROPE OF THE CSCE COMMIS-
SION, AND WHILE ITS RECOMMENDATIONS DO NOT COMMIT OUR

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GOVT IT IS NOTEWORTHY THAT ONE OF THEM RAISES THE IDEA
OF CONVERTING SOFT CURRENCIES ACCEPTED IN PAYMENT FOR
US PUBLICATIONS INTO DOLLARS. MLADENOV THOUGHT THIS
AN INTERESTING IDEA.

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11. CSCE COMMISSION: THIS LED TO DISCUSSION OF STUDY
MISSION'S INABILITY TO VISIT BULGARIA WHICH I TERMED A
LOST OPPORTUNITY FOR GOB TO DISCUSS NOT ONLY ITS OWN
RECORD OF IMPLEMENTATION BUT ALSO ANY CRITICISMS IT MIGHT
HAVE OF OUR IMPLEMENTATION. MLADENOV SAID HE FELT HE
WAS "COMPLETELY CLEAR" IN HIS MIND ABOUT THE COMMISSION.
BULGARIA WELCOMED ANY AND ALL DISCUSSIONS OF CSCE BUT
WAS NOT GOING TO ACCEPT GROUP COMING TO "INSPECT" IT.
SOCIALIST COUNTRIES DID NOT EVEN DO THAT TO EACH OTHER;
BULGARIA WOULD NOT SEND "INVESTIGATORY" GROUP TO CZECHO-
SLOVAKIA, FOR EXAMPLE. HOWEVER, IF THERE WERE TO BE AN
"EXCHANGE" OF PARLIAMENTARY GROUPS, TO CONSIDER CSCE
IMPLEMENTATION IN BOTH COUNTRIES, BULGARIA MIGHT BE MORE
INTERESTED. I ASKED IF ANOTHER VISIT WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE
IF TERMS OF REFERENCE EMPHASIZED MUTUALITY, AND MLADENOV
SAID YES. I TOOK OCCASION TO EXPLAIN TO HIM AGAIN THE
INCREASED ROLE OF US CONGRESS IN OUR FOREIGN RELATIONS,
AND WHY IT IS TO BULGARIA'S INTEREST TO TAKE THIS INTO
ACCOUNT (HAVING IN MIND ALSO SUCH MATTERS AS DIVIDED
FAMILIES).

12. JAMMING OF FOREIGN RADIO BROADCASTS. PRESENTATION
IN ACCORDANCE REFS B AND C RESULTED IN LENGTHY EXPOSTULA-
TIONS FROM MLADENOV WHICH ARE SUBJECT SEPTEL.

13. TRAVEL RESTRICTIONS AND REDUCTION OF VISA FEES. REMINDED
MLADENOV THAT ALMOST A YEAR HAS GONE BY SINCE WE MADE FORMAL
PROPOSAL RE TRAVEL RESTRICTIONS, AND BULGARIA IS NOW ONLY EE
COUNTRY (OTHER THAN ALBANIA) WITH WHICH WE HAVE NO SUCH
AGREEMENT. HE SAID REPLY WAS IN PREPARATION AND WOULD BE
SENT SHORTLY. I THEN SAID WE HAD RECEIVED GENERALLY NEGA-
TIVE RESPONSE RE MUTUAL REDUCTION OF VISA FEES, BUT SHOULD
NOT GIVE UP ON THIS. A COMPROMISE MIGHT BE POSSIBLE.
MLADENOV REPLIED THAT IF IT WERE QUESTION OF ABOLISHING
VISAS, IT WOULD BE A POLITICAL QUESTION AND HIS MINISTRY
WOULD PREVAIL. SINCE IT WAS QUESTION OF REDUCING
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REVENUES, ISSUE WAS WITHIN COMPETENCE OF FINANCE MINISTRY,

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BUT HE WOULD BE WILLING TO APPROACH THEM ON THE MATTER.
IT WAS AGREED TO REFER THIS TO WORKING LEVEL FOR DIS-
CUSSION.

14. DIVIDED FAMILIES. DISCUSSION WAS GENERAL, WITH THE
MAREV CASE (SEPTEL) RESERVED FOR DETAILED DISCUSSION AS
SEPARATE BILATERAL PROBLEM. MLADENOV WAS LOOKING FOR CREDIT
FOR HAVING MOVED A NUMBER OF CASES FORWARD, AND I SAID THIS IS
SO BUT MUCH STILL REMAINS TO BE DONE.

15. COMMENTS FOLLOW SEPARATELY.
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Message Attributes

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